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**Secret Documents Exposed:**

# **FBI Plot Against the Black Movement**

**by Baxter Smith**





*Baxter Smith*

Baxter Smith was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for District School Board in Los Angeles, California, in 1971 and is currently a columnist for *The Militant* (14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014). His article "FBI Plot Against the Black Movement" first appeared in the May 1974 issue of *The Black Scholar* (P. O. Box 908, Sausalito, California 94965), copyright © 1974 by *The Black Scholar*, reprinted by permission.

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Printed in April 1974

Pathfinder Press, Inc.  
410 West Street  
New York, N. Y. 10014

Manufactured in the United States of America

## **FBI PLOT AGAINST THE BLACK MOVEMENT**

**by Baxter Smith**

Proof of a vast government conspiracy to physically and politically destroy the Black movement in the U.S. has been uncovered in the most recent Watergate-related disclosures about the FBI. These disclosures reveal the hatred and fear of the rulers of this country for the Black liberation struggle as well as the ruthlessness with which they have tried to crush it.

The new facts now coming to light—including information linking the government to the murders of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Fred Hampton—are prompting demands for a full public inquiry into the secret-police operations of the FBI against the Black movement. Operation PUSH leader Jesse Jackson and Congressman Ralph Metcalfe (D-Ill.) have both recently urged an investigation into the government surveillance program against Blacks, which Jackson has termed "a mandate to commit murder."

The extent of this surveillance first became clear last December, when NBC newsman Carl Stern gained access to the FBI's COINTELPRO (counterintelligence program) documents. Stern won access to the files through a suit based on the Freedom of Information Act. The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have also received and publicized some of the secret COINTELPRO documents through a suit they have filed against government harassment.

These documents reveal that the FBI has implemented COINTELPRO against Black groups, antiwar activists, the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party, and others.



The purpose of COINTELPRO, in the words of J. Edgar Hoover, is to "disrupt" and "neutralize" these organizations.

The latest documents, released March 7, 1974, present the clearest picture of how COINTELPRO was set into motion against the Black movement. Written by J. Edgar Hoover, these memos call on FBI agents across the country to "expose, disrupt" and "otherwise neutralize" the groups and individuals named.

"The purpose of this new counterintelligence endeavor," one memo says, "is to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters. . . ."

Dating from 1967 to 1970, these documents debunk the notion that illegal government surveillance and disruption began with the Nixon administration.

Never meant to be read by the American people, they reveal a coordinated, national program of repression organized in response to the Black ghetto rebellions, the Black student upsurge, and the attraction of young militants to the Black Panther Party.

One memo, dated August 25, 1967, for example, tells FBI agents to prevent Black nationalist groups from being able to "consolidate their forces or recruit new or youthful adherents. . . ."

It also says that "no opportunity should be missed to exploit through counterintelligence techniques the organizational and personal conflicts of the leadership of the groups and where possible an effort should be made to capitalize upon existing conflicts between competing black nationalist organizations."

A March 4, 1968, document warns: "Prevent the *coalition* of militant black nationalist groups. In unity there is strength. . . ." The memo urges agents to also "prevent militant nationalist groups and leaders from gaining *respectability*, by discrediting them to three segments of the community."

#### **"Prevent the rise of a 'messiah' "**

One document lists as a key goal: "Prevent the rise of a 'messiah' who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement."

Before it turned over the documents, the FBI blotted out the names of individuals and groups listed as "targets." But it is not difficult to guess what belongs in the censored spaces.



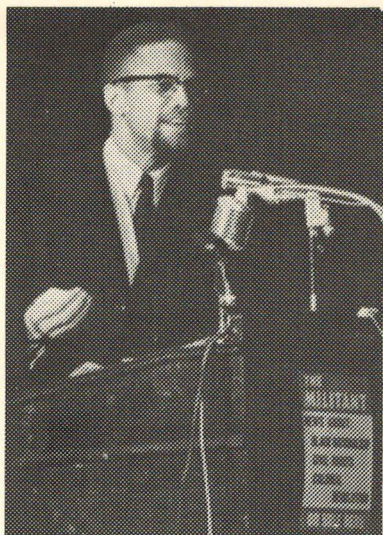


Photo by Finer

*Malcolm X speaking at the Militant Labor Forum in New York, 1965.*



Photo by Finer

*Martin Luther King, Jr., speaking at April 15, 1967, antiwar rally in New York.*



Photo by Parent

*February 21, 1965—fatally wounded, Malcolm X is wheeled from Audobon Ballroom.*



In the document on "messiahs," for example, the name of Malcolm X fits into one blanked-out area. That sentence would then read: "[Malcolm X] might have been such a 'messiah': he is the martyr of the movement today." (See p. 18.)

A following sentence might read: "[King could] be a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed 'obedience' to 'white, liberal doctrines' (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism." This memo was written one month before King's murder.

Thus, as Jesse Jackson recently pointed out, these documents amount to a "search and destroy mission" against the Black movement. The killings of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Fred Hampton, he explained, "were consistent with the stated purpose of the memo to prevent the rise of a messiah." And there are plenty of other indications that government had a hand in these assassinations.

### Malcolm X

Malcolm X was the most capable Black leader of our time and greatly feared by the rulers of this country. Many questions about his murder remain unanswered.

When he was shot at a New York rally in 1965, the crowd seized two of his assailants before they could escape. The police arrested the two men and took them away, as the first newspaper reports explained. But only one of the men was ever seen again. All mention of the second man was dropped from the press without explanation, and the issue was never brought up in the trial by the court-appointed defense lawyers.

Talmadge Hayer—the man arrested at the rally and convicted—admitted his role in the assassination but refused to name his accomplices. Furthermore, he insisted that the two men convicted with him had nothing to do with the killing. This assertion gains credibility because the others convicted of the murder were known Black Muslims, and no explanation of how they could have slipped into the rally past Malcolm's security guards has ever been presented.

Although uniformed police were usually highly visible at meetings addressed by Malcolm, they were hardly in evidence the day he was shot. Malcolm himself had indicated that he considered the harassment directed against him in the last weeks of his life to be beyond the ability of any Black group to organize.

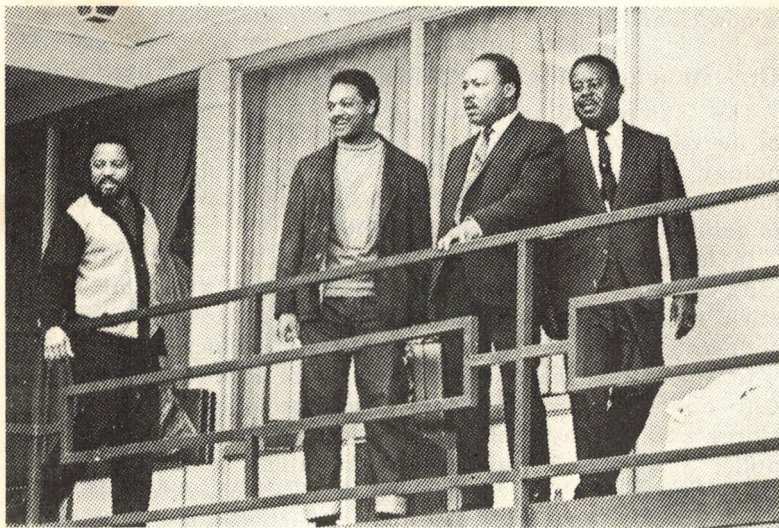


## Martin Luther King, Jr.

It is now known that Martin Luther King, Jr., was under intense government surveillance prior to his murder. In the spring of 1973 Arthur Murtaugh, a former FBI agent from Atlanta, revealed to the *New York Times* that J. Edgar Hoover had ordered a campaign to "get King." Wiretapping and other surveillance of the civil rights leader was so thorough that King "couldn't wiggle. They had him," Murtaugh said.

This information is all the more revealing now that James Earl Ray, the man convicted of killing King, has stated that he did not act alone. Ray says he was part of a conspiracy of white Southerners. He recently filed a \$500,000 damage suit against the state of Tennessee and is demanding a new trial. He says he was improperly represented by his attorney during the original trial.

The state of Tennessee, in the meantime, is trying to transfer Ray to a federal prison where he will be isolated from the public. George McMillan, who is writing a biography of Ray, explained in the March 25, 1974, *New York Times* that under present prison regulations, "If James Earl Ray is moved into a Federal prison he will never again be able to talk face-to-face to the press, to television interviewers, or to authors of magazine articles or books."



*April 3, 1968—the day before his assassination, King flanked by Jesse Jackson (on his right) and Ralph Abernathy.*

## **Fred Hampton**

Recent information has also come to light exposing direct FBI involvement in the 1969 raid on the Chicago apartment of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton. Hampton and another Panther leader, Mark Clark, were killed in the attack.

The *Chicago Tribune* revealed March 22, 1974, that it was the FBI that initiated the idea of the raid. First the FBI urged the Chicago police to raid the apartment, but the cops refused. Then the FBI turned to State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan, who agreed to carry out the operation.

The FBI told Hanrahan's office that there was a weapons cache in Hampton's apartment, based on a report from the Panther chief of security, William O'Neal.

O'Neal was a paid FBI informer, working in the COINTEL-PRO program under FBI agent Roy Mitchell. O'Neal's undercover role in the Panthers—with its obvious implications in the Hampton case—was only recently discovered when he testified at the murder trial of a Black ex-cop and admitted being a spy. He has elaborated further on his role in a pretrial deposition for a suit filed by relatives of Hampton and Clark.

O'Neal was never called to the witness stand during the trial of Edward Hanrahan for obstruction of justice in the Hampton shooting, nor was it even mentioned that he had worked his way into a key post in the Panthers. The reason for this secrecy is now clear.

## **Government campaign against Panthers**

The Hampton-Clark murders are perhaps the most blatant of the nationwide attacks on the Black Panther Party. A chronology of those attacks indicates the development of a carefully thought out campaign to destroy the party as it began to assume prominence in the late 1960s.

In January 1969, Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Huggins, leaders of the Los Angeles Panthers, were shot in the back by members of "US," a Black organization known to cooperate with Mayor Sam Yorty and police officials.

In April 1969, twenty-one Panthers were indicted in New York City on fantastic charges of conspiring to bomb department stores and subways. In December of that same year, Chicago police staged their raid on the Hampton apartment. A few days later, police in Los Angeles tried to storm a Panther headquarters. This led to a shoot-out lasting for hours in which two Panthers were wounded.



The following year, 1970, was marked by even more extensive police attacks on the Panthers. These occurred in cities such as Birmingham, Toledo, Philadelphia, New Orleans, and Detroit. At the same time, trial proceedings began against the Panther 21 in New York and against Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins in New Haven, Connecticut. These were just two of the many trials of Panthers that year.

Proof that this wave of attacks was coordinated on a national scale was revealed by the February 9, 1970, *New York Times*, which reported that Seattle Mayor Wesley Uhlman turned down a Federal proposal for a raid on Black Panther headquarters in Seattle because he did not want to popularize the Panthers' cause. He also said such raids smacked of gestapo-type tactics.

The proposal had been made the previous month by the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Unit of the Internal Revenue Service. This government outfit is now known to have been deeply involved in secret-police operations.

At the time of this concerted government campaign, the Panthers were caught up in ultraleft rhetoric, using such slogans as "off the pigs" and "pick up the gun." This rhetoric only aided the government in its drive to portray the Panthers as the ones responsible for violence. It stood in the way of placing the responsibility for the violence in these attacks squarely where it belonged — on the police themselves.

Given the revelation that the Chicago Panthers' chief of security was a cop, and the discovery of agents provocateurs in other radical groups, such as the Weatherpeople and the Vietnam Veterans, it is reasonable to assume that undercover agents helped create a climate within the Panthers where the government's attacks could have maximum effect.

The experience with such agents in other groups is that they are the first to advocate terrorist-type actions by small groups. This stance then provides the government with a handle to discredit the left as "violent" and send radical leaders to prison.

Another police tactic used against the Panthers was revealed in a COINTELPRO memo dated May 11, 1970. It talks about fabricating documents that would appear to be "pilfered from police files," planting spies pretending to be "disgruntled police employees," and promoting factionalism by "indicating electronic coverage where none exists; outlining fictitious plans for police raids or other counteractions; revealing misuse or misappro-



priation of Panther funds; pointing out instances of political disorientation. . . ." (See p. 22.)

Evidence that this plan did promote dissension and confusion in Panther ranks is shown by the widespread expulsions that occurred in the party around this time.

### **The power of the Black movement**

The vast scope of counterintelligence against the Panthers and other Black groups shows how terrified the government is of the power of the Black movement. In fact, when the 1970 Huston spy plan was devised, according to the May 24, 1973, *New York Times*, "One official who worked on [it] described the most serious issue facing the Nixon Administration in mid-1970 as 'the black problem.' He said intelligence indicated that Black Panther leaders were being covertly supported by some countries in the Caribbean and in North Africa."

A study conducted by the CIA in 1969-70 disputed this "foreign" connection allegedly behind the Panthers and presented a more realistic assessment of the roots of the Black upsurge in the 1960s radicalization as a whole.

One official associated with this study was quoted in the May 25, 1973, *New York Times* as saying, "We thought that it was absolutely imperative that the causes of what was happening—the Vietnam war and racial injustice—had to be understood."

War and racism were the chief factors responsible for the new awakening of Blacks in the 1960s. It began with the the civil rights movement and the inspiration of the Cuban Revolution. There were explosive rebellions in the Black ghettos in the mid-60s. Then the Vietnam war, which prompted massive antiwar demonstrations, further fed the growth of Black awareness.

### **The carrot and the stick**

Lyndon "We Shall Overcome" Johnson tried to deal with the Black movement with anti-poverty programs and other concessions aimed at buying off Blacks. But his strategy was two-sided, the strategy of the carrot and the stick.

In his one hand, Johnson dangled the carrot of his "Great Society" programs, and in his other he held the stick of savage repression against militants that could not be bought off.

The Democrats in office before Johnson, such as John Ken-



nedy, employed the same strategy. It was under Kennedy that a counterintelligence program against the Socialist Workers Party was ordered in 1961. Robert Kennedy had the wiretaps on Martin Luther King, Jr., installed in 1963.

Nixon now claims that COINTELPRO has been discontinued and that the 1970 Huston spy plan never went into effect. But the harassment and intimidation of Blacks and other radicals still goes on today. Among those now in jail or facing frame-up charges are Martin Sostre, Ben Chavis, the Attica Brothers, and the Wounded Knee defendants.

## **Fighting back**

Government frame-ups and the methods that go with them — undercover agents, wiretapping, and burglaries — are provoking an outcry from the American people. A growing number of victims of Watergating are fighting back, and demanding a halt to these antidemocratic, illegal practices.

Relatives of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark have filed a \$3.75-million lawsuit against those involved in the murderous Chicago raid. They are demanding access to FBI documents on the Chicago Panthers, and the U.S. attorney's office in Chicago has agreed to turn over "as much as a semi-truck load" of records. But it remains to be seen if the Justice Department will allow the release of the papers.

Jesse Jackson has announced plans for a class-action suit to force the disclosure of more government documents on the Black movement, and is urging other Blacks to join the suit as plaintiffs.

Congressman Ralph Metcalfe has called on the House Judiciary Committee to investigate FBI files on the Black movement. One such set of documents, called the "137" files, were maintained by the Chicago FBI on Metcalfe himself, Jesse Jackson, Southern Christian Leadership Conference leader Ralph Abernathy, and the Panthers.

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance — through their suit against bombing, burglary, and wiretapping — have already forced the government to admit that it operated an "SWP Disruption Program" from 1961 to 1969, and that it conducted electronic surveillance against the socialists beginning in 1945. The SWP and YSA suit is being publicized by the Political Rights Defense Fund.

Columnist Nat Hentoff of the *Village Voice* in New York recently secured the contents of a House Internal Security Com-



mittee (HISC) file on himself, through the help of some liberal Congressmen. Among the items considered "damaging" by the House witchhunters were Hentoff's endorsements over the years of civil liberties efforts for antiwar GIs, Black Panthers, socialists, and others.

Hentoff wrote in his March 7, 1974, column that he may file a suit to win the right of others to gain access to their HISC files.



*Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton was slain by Chicago cops on December 4, 1969.*



## Black commission of inquiry

There is a growing momentum in the Black community for an independent commission of inquiry into the deaths of Black leaders like Malcolm X, King, and Hampton. Jesse Jackson and others have called for this.

An inquiry into the murders could start by demanding the full truth, that the FBI turn over all files on Malcolm, King, Hampton and other Panthers. Part of the inquiry would be to force the government to fill in those blotted out names of FBI targets.

The impact of such an independent, public inquiry was shown in the aftermath of the killing of two Black students at Southern University in 1972. The panel of Blacks who held hearings on the shootings proved that the cops had deliberately fired on defenseless demonstrators.

In a similar fashion, an inquiry into the deaths of Malcolm, King, and Hampton could present the truth to a wide audience.

Such an inquiry should be organized by, and responsible to, the Black community. The Democrats and Republicans in Washington and their "special prosecutors" have shown no interest in investigating the Watergate-type crimes against Blacks, and no wonder, since those crimes have been committed under both Democratic and Republican administrations.

What Watergate has shown is the hardnosed determination of the rulers of this country in preventing the spread of independent struggles of Black people. They do not stop at anything, including murder.

*But their secret-police tactics have been put in the spotlight for all to see. The government is on the defensive around these exposures and now is the time to press further.*

*The opportunity has never been greater to force a halt to these illegal attacks, to expose the lack of democracy in this country, and to show where the responsibility for violence in this society really lies.*

To the extent that Blacks take advantage of this opportunity and win victories against these repressive measures, the struggle to end racial oppression and all other forms of exploitation in the U.S. will take a step forward.



## SECRET FBI MEMOS ON THE BLACK MOVEMENT, 1967-70

The documents reproduced here were released by the FBI as a result of a lawsuit filed by Carl Stern, a reporter for NBC, under the Freedom of Information Act.

The photocopies released by the government contain some passages that have been blotted out with a dark marking pen, and other sections covered over by paper apparently attached with paper clips.

SAC, Albany

August 25, 1967

Director, FBI

PERSONAL ATTENTION TO ALL OFFICES

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
INTERNAL SECURITY

Offices receiving copies of this letter are instructed to immediately establish a control file, captioned as above, and to assign responsibility for following and coordinating this new counterintelligence program to an experienced and imaginative Special Agent well versed in investigations relating to black nationalist, hate-type organizations. The field office control file used under this program may be maintained in a pending inactive status until such time as a specific operation or technique is placed under consideration for implementation.

The purpose of this new counterintelligence endeavor is to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters, and to counter their propensity for violence and civil disorder. The activities of all such groups of intelligence interest to this Bureau must be followed on a continuous basis so we will be in a position to promptly take

advantage of all opportunities for counterintelligence and to inspire action in instances where circumstances warrant. The pernicious background of such groups, their duplicity, and devious maneuvers must be exposed to public scrutiny where such publicity will have a neutralizing effect. Efforts of the various groups,

Letter to SAC, Albany  
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS

to consolidate their forces or to recruit new or youthful adherents must be frustrated. No opportunity should be missed to exploit through counterintelligence techniques the organizational and personal conflicts of the leaderships of the groups and where possible an effort should be made to capitalize upon existing conflicts between competing black nationalist organizations. When an opportunity is apparent to disrupt or neutralize black nationalist, hate-type organizations through the cooperation of established local news media contacts or through such contact with sources available to the Seat of Government, in every instance careful attention must be given to the proposal to insure the targeted group is disrupted, ridiculed, or discredited through the publicity and not merely publicized. Consideration should be given to techniques to preclude violence-prone or rabble-rouser leaders of hate groups from spreading their philosophy publicly or through various mass communication media.

Many individuals currently active in black nationalist organizations have backgrounds of immorality, subversive activity, and criminal records. Through your investigation of key agitators, you should endeavor to establish their unsavory backgrounds. Be alert to determine evidence of misappropriation of funds or other types of personal misconduct on the part of militant nationalist leaders so any practical or warranted counterintelligence may be instituted.

Intensified attention under this program should be afforded to the activities of such groups as the [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Particular emphasis should be given to extremists who direct the activities and policies of revolutionary or militant groups such as [REDACTED]

At this time the Bureau is setting up no requirement for status letters to be periodically submitted under this program. It will be incumbent upon you to insure the program is being afforded necessary and continuing attention and that no opportunities will be overlooked for counterintelligence action.

This program should not be confused with the program entitled "Communist Party, USA, Counterintelligence Program, Internal Security - C," [REDACTED], which is directed

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Letter to SAC, Albany  
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS

against the Communist Party and related organizations, or the program entitled "Counterintelligence Program, Internal Security,



Disruption of Hate Groups," ( ), which is directed against Klan and hate-type groups primarily consisting of white memberships.

All Special Agent personnel responsible for the investigation of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and their memberships should be alerted to our counterintelligence interest and each investigative Agent has a responsibility to call to the attention of the counterintelligence coordinator suggestions and possibilities for implementing the program. You are also cautioned that the nature of this new endeavor is such that under no circumstances should the existence of the program be made known outside the Bureau and appropriate within-office security should be afforded to sensitive operations and techniques considered under the program.

No counterintelligence action under this program may be initiated by the field without specific prior Bureau authorization.

You are urged to take an enthusiastic and imaginative approach to this new counterintelligence endeavor and the Bureau will be pleased to entertain any suggestions or techniques you may recommend.

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Date: 3/4/68  
Transmitted following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)  
AIRTEL  
(Priority)

To: SAC, Albany

PERSONAL ATTENTION

From: Director, FBI

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Title is changed to substitute Racial Intelligence for Internal Security for Bureau routing purposes.

Airtel to SAC, Albany  
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

BACKGROUND

By letter dated 8/25/67 the following offices were advised of the beginning of a Counterintelligence Program against militant Black Nationalist-Hate Groups:

Each of the above offices was to designate a Special Agent to coordinate this program. Replies to this letter indicated an interest in counterintelligence against militant black nationalist groups that foment violence and several offices outlined procedures which had been effective in the past. For example, [redacted] furnished information about a new grade school to appropriate authorities in [redacted] who investigated to determine if the school conformed to [redacted] for private schools. [redacted] obtained background information on the parents of each pupil.

The [redacted] group, was active in [redacted] in the summer of 1967. [redacted] alerted local police, who then put [redacted] leaders under close scrutiny. They were arrested on every possible charge until they could no longer make bail. As a result, [redacted] leaders spent most of the summer in jail and no violence traceable to [redacted] took place.

The Counterintelligence Program is now being expanded to include 41 offices. Each of the offices added to this program should designate an Agent familiar with black

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Airtel to SAC, Albany  
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

nationalist activity, and interested in counterintelligence, to coordinate this program. This Agent will be responsible for the periodic progress letters being requested, but each Agent working this type of case should participate in the formulation of counterintelligence operations.



## GOALS

For maximum effectiveness of the Counterintelligence Program, and to prevent wasted effort, long-range goals are being set.

1. Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups. In unity there is strength; a truism that is no less valid for all its triteness. An effective coalition of black nationalist groups might be the first step toward a real "Mau Mau" in America, the beginning of a true black revolution.

2. Prevent the rise of a "messiah" who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement. [redacted] might have been such a "messiah; he is the martyr of the movement today.

[redacted] all aspire to this position. [redacted] is less of a threat because of his age. [redacted] be a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed "obedience" to "white, liberal doctrines" (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism. [redacted] has the necessary charisma to be a real threat in this way.

3. Prevent violence on the part of black nationalist groups. This is of primary importance, and is, of course, a goal of our investigative activity; it should also be a goal of the Counterintelligence Program. Through counterintelligence it should be possible to pinpoint potential troublemakers and neutralize them before they exercise their potential for violence.

4. Prevent militant black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining respectability, by discrediting them to three separate segments of the community. The goal of discrediting black nationalists must be handled tactically in three ways. You must discredit these groups and individuals to, first, the responsible Negro community. Second, they must be discredited to the white community,

- 3 -

## BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

both the responsible community and to "liberals" who have vestiges of sympathy for militant black nationalist simply because they are Negroes. Third, these groups must be discredited in the eyes of Negro radicals, the followers of the movement. This last area requires entirely different tactics from the first two. Publicity about violent tendencies and racial statements merely enhances black nationalists to the last group; it adds "respectability" in a different way.

5. A final goal should be to prevent the long-range growth of militant black nationalist organizations, especially among youth. Specific tactics to prevent these groups from converting young people must be developed.

Besides these five goals counterintelligence is a valuable part of our regular investigative program as it often produces positive information.

## TARGETS

Primary targets of the Counterintelligence Program, Black Nationalist-Hate Groups, should be the most violent and radical groups and their leaders. We should emphasize those leaders and organizations that are nationwide in scope

and are most capable of disrupting this country. These targets should include the radical and violence-prone leaders, members, and followers of the:

Offices handling these cases and those of [redacted] should be alert for counterintelligence suggestions.

#### INSTRUCTIONS

Within 30 days of the date of this letter each office should:

1. Advise the Bureau of the identity of the Special Agent assigned to coordinate this program.

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#### RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

2. Submit a very succinct summary of the black nationalist movement in the field office territory. Include name, number of members and degree of activity of each black nationalist group. Also state your estimate of each group's propensity for violence. This is for target evaluation only, not for record purposes. Second, list Rabble-Rouser Index subjects who are militant black nationalists and any other militant black nationalist leaders who might be future targets of counterintelligence action because of their propensity for violence. Include a minimum of background information on each person listed; a few descriptive sentences should suffice.

3. List those organizations and individuals you consider of such potential danger as to be considered for current counterintelligence action. Briefly justify each target.

4. Submit any suggestion you have for overall counterintelligence action or the administration of this program. Suggestions for action against any specific target should be submitted by separate letter.

5. Submit, by separate letter, suggestions for counterintelligence action against the targets previously listed as field-wide. These should not be general, such as "publicize [redacted] to communist countries," but should be specific as to target, what is to be done, what contacts are to be used, and all other information needed for the Bureau to approve a counterintelligence operation.

Thereafter, on a ninety-day basis, each office is to submit a progress letter summarizing counterintelligence operations proposed during the period, operations effected, and tangible results. Any changes in the overall black nationalist movement should be summarized in this letter. This should include new organizations, new leaders, and any changes in data listed under number two above. Suggestions for counterintelligence operations should not be set out in this progress letter. Use the following captions:



1. Operations Under Consideration, 2. Operations Being Effected, 3. Tangible Results, and 4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest. These 90-day progress letters are due at the Bureau the first day of March, June, September, and December, excepting March, 1968.

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Airtel to SAC, Albany  
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

The effectiveness of counterintelligence depends on the quality and quantity of positive information available regarding the target and on the imagination and initiative of Agents working the program. The response of the field to the Counterintelligence Program against the Communist Party, USA, indicates that a superb job can be done by the field on counterintelligence.

Counterintelligence operations must be approved by the Bureau. Because of the nature of this program each operation must be designed to protect the Bureau's interest so that there is no possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau. Beyond this the Bureau will give every possible consideration to your proposals.

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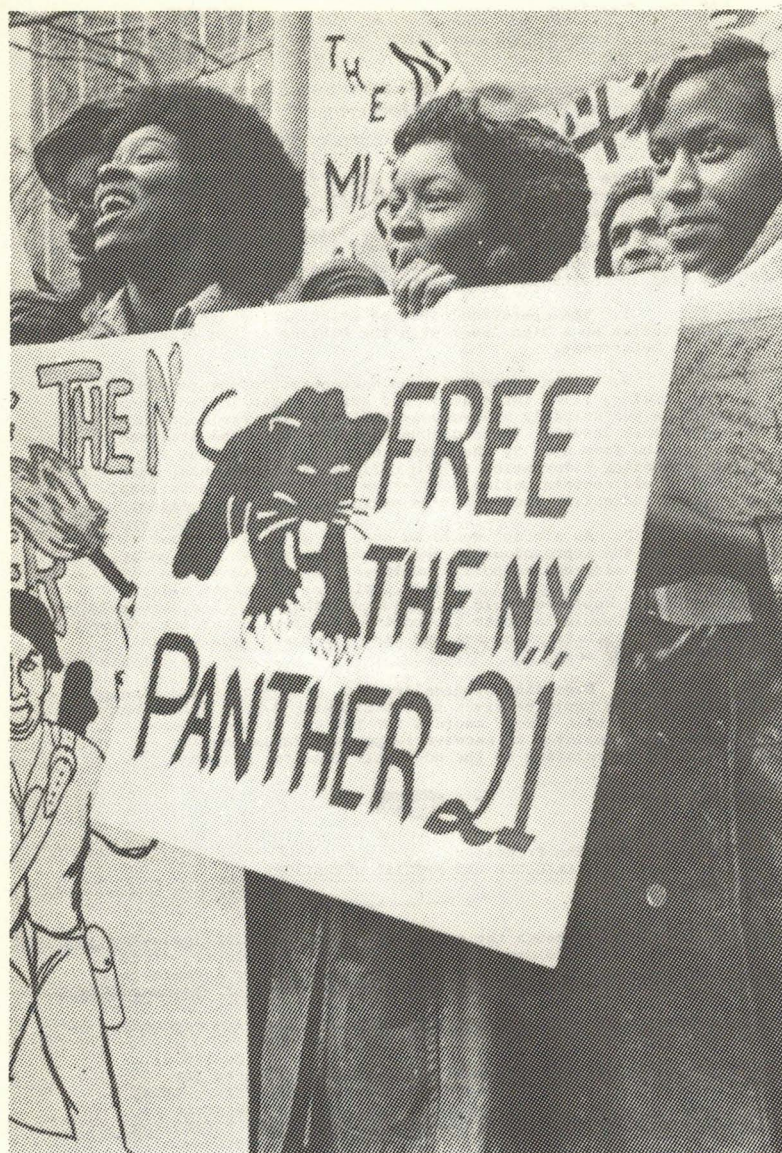


Photo by LNS

*Supporters of Panther 21, who were indicted on frame-up charges in 1969. Pages 22 and 23 contain FBI memos revealing plans for disruption of Panthers in 1970.*



5/11/70

Director, FBI

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE AND SPECIAL OPERATIONS  
(RESEARCH SECTION)

The Bureau would like to offer for your consideration a proposal for a disruptive-disinformation operation targeted against the national office of the Black Panther Party (BPP). This proposal is not intended to be all inclusive or binding in any of its various phases, but only is a guide for the suggested action. You are encouraged to submit recommendations relating to revisions or innovations of the proposal.

1. The operation would be effected through close-coordination on a high level with the Oakland or San Francisco Police Department.
2. Xerox copies of true documents, documents subtly incorporating false information, and entirely fabricated documents would be periodically anonymously mailed to the residence of a key Panther leader. These documents would be on the stationery and in the form used by the police department or by the FBI in disseminating information to the police. FBI documents, when used, would contain police routing or date received notations, clearly indicating they had been pilfered from police files;
3. An attempt would be made to give the Panther recipient the impression the documents were stolen from police files by a disgruntled police employee sympathetic to the Panthers. After initial mailings, brief notes by the alleged disgruntled employee would be included with the mailed documents. These notes would indicate the motive and sympathy of the police employee, his bitterness against his department, and possibly a request for more.
4. Depending on developments, at a propitious time, consideration would be given to establishing a drop office box or other suitable "drop" address for the use of the alleged disgruntled employee to receive responses, funds, and/or specifications relating to the documents from the Panthers.

Letter to SAC, San Francisco  
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE AND SPECIAL OPERATIONS

5. Although the operation may not require inclusion of a live source to represent the disgruntled employee, circumstances might warrant the use of such a source for face-to-face meetings with the Panthers. During early stages of the operation, an effort should be made to locate and brief a suitable police employee to play the role of the alleged disgruntled employee.

6. A wide variety of alleged authentic police or FBI material could be carefully selected or prepared for furnishing to the Panthers. Reports, blind memoranda, LHM's, and other alleged police or FBI documents could be prepared pinpointing Panthers as police or FBI informants; ridiculing or discrediting Panther leaders through their ineptness or personal escapades; espousing personal philosophies and promoting factionalism among BPP members; indicating electronic coverage where none exists; outlining fictitious plans for police raids or other counteractions; revealing misuse or misappropriation of Panther funds; pointing out instances of political disorientation; etc. The nature of the disruptive material and dis-

formation "leaked" could only be limited by the collection ability of your sources and the need to insure the protection of their security.

Effective implementation of this proposal logically could not help but disrupt and confuse Panther activities. Even if they were to suspect FBI or police involvement, they would be unable to ignore factual material brought to their attention through this channel. The operation would afford us a continuing means to furnish the Panther leadership true information which is to our interest that they know and disinformation which, in their interest, they may not ignore.

Although this proposal is a relatively simple technique, it has been applied with exceptional results in another area of intelligence interest where the target was of far greater sophistication. The Bureau believes with careful planning this technique has excellent long-range potential to disrupt and curtail Panther activity.

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Letter to SAC, San Francisco  
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE AND SPECIAL OPERATIONS

San Francisco is requested to submit comments and/or recommendations relating to the implementation of this proposal.

Copies of this letter have been designated for Los Angeles for background and information purposes. Any suggestion Los Angeles may have for strengthening or further implementing the technique will be appreciated.

SAC, San Francisco

12/24/70

Director, FBI

ReSFairtel 12/7/70 captioned "Counterintelligence and Special Operations," and previous correspondence under the counterintelligence caption, outlining a proposed disruptive technique to be applied against leader with the objective of neutralizing the

Recent information indicates has broken with the organization and is in the process of forming a new group. For this reason, and because of the expanding complexities of the proposed technique, no further action should be taken on this suggested disruptive technique.



# **FURTHER READING**

## **New from Pathfinder**

**Black Liberation and Socialism**, edited by Tony Thomas.  
In answering the question—how is Black liberation to be achieved?—this book explores the following topics: the close connection between the struggle for self-determination and socialism; the relevance of women's liberation to Black people; the need for a program of mass action, including a Black political party independent of the Democrats and Republicans. \$2.45 (paper)/\$9.00 (cloth)

## **The Assassination of Malcolm X**

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## **Black Power in the Caribbean**

by Tony Thomas and John Riddell .25

## **Black Women's Liberation**

by Maxine Williams and Pamela Newman .35

## **By Any Means Necessary**

by Malcolm X 1.95

## **The Case for an Independent Black Party**

Introduction by Paul Boutelle .50

## **Malcolm X on Afro-American History**

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## **Two Speeches by Malcolm X**

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by Tony Thomas and Robert Allen .50

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